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SECTION 01 OF 02

TOHAK 241

PLEASE DELIVER TO BREMER/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

MAY 18, 1974

TO: HENRY A. KISSINGER

State Dept. review completed

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FOLLOWING IS THE PROPOSED TALKING PAPER FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH LUNS. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR CONCURRENCE OR MODIFICATIONS:

1. PURPOSE

THIS MEETING WILL PERMIT YOU TO REAFFIRM TO LUNS THE IMPORTANCE THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS THE CORNERSTONE OF WESTERN STRENGTH AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

MORI/CDF  
C03345154

SINCE YOUR LAST MEETING WITH THE NATO SECRETARY GENERAL AT SAN CLEMENTE IN JUNE 1973, US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE DRAFTING OF THE US-EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS. LUNS IS A FORCEFUL PROponent OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION AND IN TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS AS SECRETARY GENERAL HAS CHAIRED ALLIED COUNCILS WITH A FIRM HAND. NEVERTHELESS, HE IS CONCERNED LEST OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, MBER, PROBLEMS IN US-EC NINE RELATIONS, ECONOMIC AND OTHER PRESSURES ON EUROPE'S NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS, AND SENTIMENT IN THE US FAVORING TROOP REDUCTIONS ERODE THE NATO PARTNERSHIP.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

YOUR PURPOSE IN THIS MEETING WILL BE TO:

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

SCOWCROFT, MCFRDLANE

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- EMPHASIZE THAT THE ALLIANCE REMAINS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES;
- STRESS THE NEED FOR MEANINGFUL AND CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS AS PART OF THE ALLIANCE PROCESS;
- COMMENT LUNS ON THE EXCELLENT LEADERSHIP HE CONTINUES TO BRING TO NATO COUNCILS;
- ENCOURAGE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP REQUIRED TO PRODUCE A NATO DECLARATION CONTAINING A STRONG STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

## II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

- A. BACKGROUND: LUNS HAS COME TO THE UNITED STATES TO RECEIVE AN HONORARY DEGREE FROM HOPE COLLEGE IN HOLLAND, MICHIGAN ON MAY 24. WHILE IN WASHINGTON, HE HAS DISCUSSIONS SCHEDULED WITH ME AND SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. HE ATTACHES THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO HIS MEETING WITH YOU FOR THE REVIEW IT WILL PERMIT OF ALLIANCE AND EAST-WEST ISSUES OF CURRENT IMPORTANCE.

OUR EFFORT TO REINVIGORATE ATLANTIC TIES REMAINS CENTERED ON COMPLETING A NATO DECLARATION. THE NEW TEXT WHICH THE BRITISH CIRCULATED IN NATO MAY 15, AFTER GENERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH US, IS A GOOD STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ENCOURAGE LUNS' LEADERSHIP IN ACHIEVING A DECLARATION REFLECTING THE NEED FOR ENHANCED CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE ALLIES. FRENCH SENSITIVITIES SHOULD NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF EFFORTS BY OTHER ALLIES TO IMPROVE THE USEFULNESS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSULTATION PROCESS. LUNS AGREES WITH THIS VIEWPOINT.

LUNS MAY ASK YOUR VIEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING A WESTERN SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS, PERHAPS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO YOUR MOSCOW VISIT, AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO NOTE THE NEED FIRST TO PRODUCE A DECLARATION WITH MEANINGFUL SUBSTANCE IN TIME FOR THE JUNE 18-19 MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA.

LUNS IS WELL AWARE OF YOUR POSITION ON MAINTAINING THE US TROOP COMMITMENT TO EUROPE AND OF THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS INVOLVED. HE HAS BEEN A STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF BURDENSARING AND OUR EFFORT TO PREVENT FORCE REDUCTIONS PURSUANT TO THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT. THE LATTER PROBLEM IS CLOSE TO RESOLUTION, AT LEAST FOR FISCAL YEAR 1974, THANKS TO THE US-FRG OFFSET AGREEMENT AND TO ANTICIPATED MILITARY PURCHASES IN THE US BY THE OTHER ALLIES. IMPROVEMENTS IN EURO-

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PEAN FORCES ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF BURDENSARING;  
WE EXPECT THE ALLIES TO DO MORE IN THIS AREA.

ON EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS, LUNS' PRIME CONCERN IS THAT THE ALLIANCE PLAY AN ACTIVE COORDINATING ROLE, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO BOTH CSCE AND MBFR. EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN FORCE REDUCTIONS REMAINS A PRIME SOVIET GOAL IN MBFR, AND SOME MEANS OF ASSURING MOSCOW THAT SUCH REDUCTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN PERSUADING THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST STAGE. OUR APRIL 30 PROPOSAL THAT THE ALLIES CONSULT IN NATO ON THE ELEMENTS OF AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME OF STAGE II OF CSCE -- AFTER WHICH DECISIONS COULD BE MADE ON THE TIMING AND LEVEL OF THE HELSINKI FINALE -- IS AN EARNEST EXPRESSION OF THE DESIRE OF THE US TO KEEP THE ALLIANCE AT THE CENTER OF DETENTE EFFORTS.

LUNS WILL, OF COURSE, WELCOME YOUR VIEWS ON YOUR FORTH-  
COMING SUMMIT TALKS IN MOSCOW.

H. PARTICIPANTS: SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD,  
AND HENRY A. KISSINGER.

C. PRESS PLAN: THE MEETING WILL HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED, AND THERE  
WILL BE A PRESS PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. (AT MID-DAY ON MAY 21,  
LUNS WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE WITH THE OVERSEAS WRITERS  
CLUB. ON THURSDAY, MAY 23, HE WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE  
AT THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IN CHICAGO. ON THESE  
OCCASIONS, HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO REFER TO HIS MEETING WITH-

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YOU

III. TALKING POINTS

NATO AND THE NATO DECLARATION

1. THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE REMAINS THE CORNERSTONE OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.
2. AT THE SAME TIME, I STRONGLY SUPPORT EUROPEAN UNITY IN WHICH EUROPE WORKS CONFIDENTLY AND COOPERATIVELY WITH THE US DIRECTLY AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.
3. I HAVE, AS YOU KNOW, BEEN DISAPPOINTED AT THE RESPONSE OF EUROPEAN ALLIES OVER THE PAST YEAR TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR REDEFINING THE BASIS OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION.
4. I FAVOR MOVING AHEAD TO COMPLETE A NATO DECLARATION FOR CONSIDERATION BY MINISTERS AT THE OTTAWA MEETING JUNE 18-19. HOWEVER, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE DECLARATION CONTAIN A CLEAR REAFFIRMATION OF THE NEED FOR FULL AND TIMELY CONSULTATION.
5. I RECOGNIZE THAT THE OBLIGATION TO CONSULT IS RECIPROCAL, AND WE HAVE WELCOMED YOUR SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSALS TO BROADEN AND STRENGTHEN THE PROCESS OF NATO CONSULTATIONS.
6. WE DO NOT RULE OUT EVENTUAL COMPLETION OF A US-EC DECLARATION, IF THE NINE SO DESIRE, BUT FOR NOW A NATO TEXT OFFERS MORE PROSPECTS OF EARLY AGREEMENT. THE LAST TEXT OF THE US-EC DRAFT CONVEYED TO US BY THE EC MEMBERS WOULD NEED CONSIDERABLE REDRAFTING, PARTICULARLY ON THE ISSUE OF PRIOR CONSULTATION, TO MAKE IT ACCEPTABLE TO US.

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# U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE

1. I FULLY INTEND TO MAINTAIN U.S. TROOP STRENGTH IN EUROPE, IN THE ABSENCE OF RECIPROCAL REDUCTIONS. DOMESTIC U.S. SUPPORT FOR OUR TROOP COMMITMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BE AFFECTED BY THE ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO MORE EQUITABLY SHARE THE BURDEN.
2. THE US-FRG OFFSET AGREEMENT, TOGETHER WITH LIKELY MILITARY PURCHASES IN THE U.S. BY THE OTHER ALLIES, SHOULD ENABLE US TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS OF THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT.
3. CONTINUING EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO IMPROVE CONVENTIONAL FORCES WILL BE NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT OVER THE LONGER TERM.

## CSCE AND MBFR

1. I AM PLEASED WITH THE HIGH DEGREE OF ALLIED COHESION TO DATE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR AND CSCE AND RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE ALLIES TO HARMONIZE APPROACHES TO BOTH ISSUES.
2. ON CSCE, GIVEN THE MANY ISSUES YET TO BE RESOLVED, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE GENEVA STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS CAN CONCLUDE BEFORE THE END OF JUNE, AT THE EARLIEST.
3. WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD RESERVE FINAL JUDGMENT ON THE LEVEL OF A THIRD STAGE CSCE MEETING PENDING A CLEAR INDICATION OF THE GENEVA RESULTS, BUT BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER WHAT RESULTS WOULD WARRANT A SUMMIT GATHERING.
4. ON MBFR, WE FAVOR A STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIES' POSITION ALONG LINES AT PRESENT UNDER DISCUSSION IN NATO, CONTINUING TO SEEK SOVIET AGREEMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST PHASE AS A STEP TOWARD A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER.

## SOVIET SUMMIT

1. PLANS FOR MY MEETINGS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW TOWARD THE END OF JUNE ARE PROCEEDING.
2. I VIEW THE TALKS AS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS ON US-USSR RELATIONS -- THIS REDUCES THE CHANCES OF MISCALCULATIONS AND STRENGTHENS THE CHANCES FOR GREATER STABILITY.
3. CLEARLY, SALT POSES THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTION TO BE DEALT

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WITH -- WE ARE MOVING SLOWLY IN THE DIRECTION OF AN EXTENSION  
OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT PLUS AN AGREEMENT ON MIRVS.

4. AS IN THE PAST WE WILL CONTINUE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE  
ALLIANCE ON THE PROSPECTS WE SEE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

END TEXT

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